[For information on the barawwa, the act of banishing from the group, as a form of legal document, see Categories 675 and 681.]

*613 with Bait Bu Taram of 'Ailit Lazumi. These marriages and
159 their resultant alliances enhance the political power and
581 social status of Hajj 'Ali within and without al-Qasr.
156

Although he has no education himself, and neither reads
159 nor writes, Hajj 'Ali has sent his son to the University of
156 Alexandria. Hajj 'Ali's son is the only boy from al-Qasr
873 ever to attend the university. Hajj 'Ali desired that his
*[212] son study law at the university or enter the military academy
"and become an officer." But his son objected to this, saying:
"Either way I will be employed by the government and will not
be permitted to travel and see other countries." Hajj 'Ali did
not argue with this: he said that his son should study what
he wished. The son is now studying in the Faculty of Commerce
156 at Alexandria. Hajj 'Ali is also sending his daughters to
159 the primary school in al-Qasr. Not all of the Bedouins believe
872 that girls should receive an education.
562

156 Hajj 'Ali places among the "status group" in terms
159 of wealth. Although he has now committed himself to olive-
554 farming as a way of life, he remains one of the biggest sheep
472 owners in al-Qasr. Therefore, he is identified with both tra-
ditional and modern symbols of status. Hajj 'Ali differs in
156 one important way from other members of the "status group"
159 in that he owns three small general stores, two in al-Qasr
554 and one far to the west in Sallum. This fact has several
443 significant implications. Shops in al-Qasr (there are five
423
472
*[613]

156 the 'umda, Hajj 'Ali seems to imply that he himself is capable
159 of understanding and leading the Bedouins during this period.
554
178 Hajj 'Ali has formulated some positive and constructive
177 ideas relating to the period of transition which now faces
829 al-Qasr, and they are related to his analysis of the pressing
needs of the day.

> The Bedouins need many things: they need factories as there are in the Nile Valley. For the desert, here in particular, we need olive presses. This will raise the profits of the farmer . . . We need
> [244] [489] a factory for canning tomatoes, for the whole desert plants them and the transportation is such that we cannot get them to the market . . . The biggest change in the desert results from the presence of 12,000 government workers; there were only 20 or
> [871] 30 before the World War. There were no schools, now there a few. You cannot find a six year-old boy who does not go to school; about thirty per cent of the girls in al-Qasr go to school also . . . Another cause of change is due to the fact that everyone now watches his neighbor, he sees what he
> [207] does and he imitates him. Today, I listen to the radio and tomorrow my neighbor buys one. Evolution (tatawwar) is taking place, and the people here are
> • [212] realistic about it. For instance, I do not know reading and writing, and sometimes I must dictate a letter to my son . . . My son knows better than I, and I know better than my father did, who lived in al-Qasr for thirty five years without knowing anything about the streets of Marsa Matruh.

156 Hajj 'Ali is both subjective and objective about
159 change, as we can note from the comment about the radio.
554 In a non-doctrinaire fashion, Hajj 'Ali stresses the great
178 value of education while being aware of his own deficiencies
177 in this area. However, as a counterbalance, he seems to

156 imply that he feels they are not really equipped to represent
159 their traditional constituency. Hajj 'Ali, as everyone in
554 al-Qasr knows, is traditional and modern at the same time.
634 It seems that he has only alienated those whom he threatens and those who are a threat to him, i.e., the 'umda and the shaikh.

156 He may not be educated, but he knows the 'awaiyid;
159 at the same time he stresses the fact that his son will have
554 the education which he never had. Empathy is a primary trait
•212 of the charismatic leader and the "cultural broker" who seeks to manipulate social relations. No one could explain to me why Hajj 'Ali did not have an education while his brother (who is only three years younger) and other members of the "status group" do read and write. He perhaps only became concerned in the period of change. Hajj 'Ali, the "cultural broker," is more politically conscious and creative within the context of two worlds in change.

685 such, deviates from the normal pattern of cases dealt with by the cus-
627 tomary law in the conventional way. The men selected by the Geneishat
695 included, in addition to Rabbu and his father Hakim, Shei'eb and his
613 three brothers, Hakim's cousin Samsoun and his four brothers and Hakim's uncle Sheikh Qudura and his sons. The date of the oath was set for June tenth. Two days before, the two parties involved in the dispute invited a number of the important people of other tribal segments in the area to [492] be witnesses to the oath. All involved started to travel to the tomb of [494] Sidi Dmain, some on donkeys, others by bus or train. At six o'clock on [497] the morning of the oath everybody gathered in the courtyard outside the [708] tomb of the saint. The granddaughter of the saint works as a mediator [787] between the spirit of her grandfather and his followers announced that [706] the saint was ready for the oath and everybody went inside preparing for the oath. Before the oath was taken the Geneishat asked Hakim if his son and the fourteen men they had chosen were present and Hakim said they were. Since the Geneishat were from a different tribal segment and lived outside the area, they had no personal knowledge of most of the men who were to take the oath. Knowing the reputation of Hakim they [212] asked the men to present their identification cards to check them against [747] the list they had. At that time Hakim said that some of the men didn't have identification cards because they had not applied for aid from the World Food Program. Then the Geneishat demanded that those without cards should be identified by members of other tribal segments who had come as witnesses. Hakim refused and then admitted that one of the men was absent and that he had put another in place of him. But when the Geneishat learned that the one to be absent was Sheikh Qudura, they insisted that

His success in solving disputes between members of his baits and outsiders might enhance his prestige within the bait, but it is not a substitute for patrilineal succession as the basis of the Aqila's authority. But in less integrated baits the situation is different. The ineffectiveness of the Aqila in solving disputes may lead members of his bait to seek another man as their representative who would act as a mediator in their behalf. If this continues for a long time the Aqila might find himself with no functions and the new person would become a de facto Aqila.

The Aqila represents the only effective indigenous form of leadership among Awlad Ali at the present time. The camp headman provides another form of leadership on the camp level, but, as mentioned before, the leadership of the headman is very limited and involves minimal authority. In addition to the indigenous leadership represented by the Aqila, there is the superimposed administrative structure of the government representative in the form of the "omda" system introduced into the area by the government decree no. 1187 of 1958. The system of omda or mayorship is essentially that applied to the rural areas of Egypt with certain modifications to fit the tribal organization and the semi-nomadic existence of the populations of the Western Desert. In rural areas, the omda is the administrative head of the village. He is appointed by the government from among the village inhabitants who have certain qualifications with regard to education (must be able at least to read and write), wealth (own at least 5 feddans of land in the area), and sound reputation. As such, the omda system in the rural areas is a territorial system. The omda's authority covers the territory of the village and all individuals living in it regardless of their kinship affiliation.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

or swaying into convulsions. Indeed, it is noticeable that the Orders which permit such practices, notably the 'Arusiya, 'Isawiya, Rifa'iya, and Sa'adiya, so popular in the towns of Libya, have made no converts among the true Bedouin.

It is unnecessary to discuss further the mystical side to the Sanusiya for another reason. The Bedouin of Cyrenaica with whom this book is concerned have only the slightest knowledge of either the religious teachings or the ritual of the Order, and are interested in neither. They belong to the illiterate class of the *Muntasabin*, the simple adherents of the Order who follow its Shaikh personally and politically. It is very seldom, if ever, that the Bedouin know the special prayers and litanies of the Order, and their use of them, if any, is restricted to getting a scribe to write them on paper so that they can sew them up in leather and tie them to their bodies. It is only a tiny educated minority who regularly recite the prayer formulas and litanies. These are the *Ikhwan*, the Brothers of the Order. They live in the lodges of the Order and hold prayer-meetings there. Among the Brothers are some who have been raised to the position of Shaikhs of lodges, generally, in past times, after special training at the University of the Order at Jaghbub oasis, where they have received a diploma from the Head of the Order or from one of his family or inner circle. This inner circle, the *Khawass*, consists vaguely to-day of a few senior members of the Sanusi family and two or three learned Brothers and does not function as a Body, but in the past it was, according to Sayyid Muhammad Idris, an official Council controlling the affairs of the Order and was composed of four Shaikhs of the Order, who were not of the Sanusi family, under the presidency of the Head of the Order, who had to be a member of the founder's family. As Dr. Adams points out,[1] the fact that this inner circle is no longer a determinate Body indicates a change in the character of the Order, a development of its political, to the detriment of its religious, functions. This development has favoured the interests of the Sanusi family to the disadvantage of the Order as a whole.

The *Shaikh al-Tariqa*, Head of the Order, advised in past times by his Council, appoints the Shaikhs of the lodges and these Shaikhs can ordain Brothers and the Brothers can receive

[1] C. C. Adams, 'The Sanusiya Order', *Handbook on Cyrenaica*, 1944, p. 31.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

778 to act as mediators between tribes and between one tribal
619 section and another. Even to-day their tombs are regarded as
792 neutral points, as it were, and are often the place chosen for a
776 meeting between the Shaikhs of one tribe, or tribal section, and those of an adjacent tribe, or section, when some matter has to be settled between them. It has sometimes happened also that when two tribes have disputed the ownership of territory, they have settled the dispute by allotting it to a Marabout, which means to his descendants, so that one then finds a *Marabtin* strip between two *Sa'adi* tribes or tribal sections. One of the best examples of this is the strip of country owned by the Aulad al-Shaikh tribe between the 'Awaqir and the 'Abid and 'Arafa tribal domains. In the same way tribes made gifts of disputed wells to dead saints. Where a *Marabtin* tribe has grown out of a Marabout family they will be found living in the area around their tombs. Thus the Aulad al-Shaikh territory spreads out from Sidi Mahiyus, part of the Masamir live near Sidi Nuh, the Mshaitat live around Sidi al-Mshaiti, and the Qat'an live near Sidi Hashim and Sidi Suliman al-Tair.

792 So, long centuries before the Grand Sanusi began his mission
776 in Cyrenaica, the Bedouin were used to the sight of an *'alim*, a
212 learned man—for anyone who can read and write is a learned
554 man to the Bedouin—coming from the west to heal their children and beasts, break droughts, write talismans, and teach them the beliefs and law of Islam. Such a man was also a *muhakkam*, one who arbitrated in their disputes and said the *fatiha* at their settlements and undertakings to make them binding. He could arbitrate among them because he was not of them. He was not like them a tented son of the steppe, though his descendants may have learned to live as such, but a *Marabat*, a man who follows religion and not the rains. The Bedouin of Cyrenaica owe much to these holy men, for, ignorant and superstitious though they may have been, they taught the tribesmen to respect learning and religion and kept those twin lights burning, even if dimly, through centuries. The Bedouin do not forget them, or to say a prayer for them, when they pass their tombs; and they have given the freedom of their earth and water to their descendants. Without these forerunners the
[182] Grand Sanusi could not have planted his Order in the country.
*[795] It is planted in their bones.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

and of reading and writing, and of their strict performance of religious duties. This reputation was doubtless enhanced by their foreign origin, for the Bedouin of Cyrenaica were accustomed to look to the west for piety.

At one time many, perhaps all, the Shaikhs of lodges were fairly well educated in such subjects as theology, canon law, and commentaries on sacred texts. To-day most of these alumni of Jaghbub University are dead and their successors, brought up in the bitter years since 1911, are for the most part very ignorant, some being almost as illiterate as the Bedouin themselves. The Bedouin regard them with a curious mixture of respect and condescension. They look up to them as learned and pious men who possess *baraka*, they kiss their hands, they call them '*Sidi*', and they listen respectfully to their admonishments and arbitraments. At the same time they look down on them for not being tribesmen and Bedouin, children of the tents. The Bedouin harmonize these conflicting attitudes by saying that a *Marabat* is a different kind of person from a Bedouin and cannot be expected to behave in the same way or to have the same outlook. He has been brought up to read books, pray, wash, and to do other things the Bedouin finds unnecessary in his own life. He has not been reared in the roving life of the tents nor learned the shepherd's art. Since they regard the *Ikhwan* as a different kind of people, the Bedouin do not intermarry with them nor with the Sanusi family, who belong to the same category. The *Ikhwan* families marry among themselves. The Sanusi family marry the daughters of *Ikhwan*, but do not give their daughters to persons outside their own kin.

The importance of the *Ikhwan* families in the history of the development of the Sanusiya is evidently very great. From the foundation of al-Zawiya al-Baida in 1843 to the appearance of Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif in Cyrenaica in 1912 the Heads of the Order were absent from the country, either in Arabia or in distant oases, and its direct influence on the tribes was exercised by the Shaikhs of its lodges in their midst. Their ritual position within the tribal system combined with their structural position outside it enabled them to settle disputes and to unite and lead the various sections which had sponsored their lodges when the Order required their support. It was they who roused the